

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

## THE

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

No. 101. Official Organ of the Australasian Socialist Party.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26th, 1918.

Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by post as a Newspaper.

Price: One Penny.

## The Australian Socialist Party

### Annual Report.

Comrades;

It is with mingled feelings that the following brief report of the Party's activities during the past year is presented. In retrospect there are some things that occasion in one a feeling of regret, others that are recalled with pleasure, and others yet again that are not without their measure of hope for the days that are yet to be.

So much for the cause of our "mingled feelings." Now to the actual doings of the past year.

The year 1916 closed with a victory for the workers in the defeat of the first Conscription Referendum. The opening of 1917 brought with it a State election in N.S.W. The pseudo Labor Party, eager to take advantage of the splendid solidarity of the workers as shown in their vote against conscription, and having apparently lost faith in their own palliative platform, immediately announced to all and sundry, that they were the true blue anti-conscriptionists, and that only by voting for them could any recurrence of the question be prevented in the future. Realising the absurdity of such a claim when made by a party that was prepared, if elected, to administer the Capitalist Class State, the Party decided to run candidates in four of the electorates, and while the vote polled was small, some very effective propaganda was carried on.

In the meantime an element of discord began to show itself among certain members of the Sydney Branch, who affected to believe the statement of the Labor Party, that only by voting for them could conscription be warded off. This culminated when it was announced that a Federal election was about to take place. An attempt was made by this element to line the Party up behind the Labor Party, but being frustrated by a vote of the Sydney Branch members on the matter, their chief spokesman, Luke Jones, at that time Gen. Sec., brought the matter before the C.E.

Failing there to achieve his object he immediately resigned the secretaryship of the Party, and Com. A. S. Reardon was elected in his stead. This was followed by the resignation of Jones from the Party, and his next move, in the interest of working class solidarity, no doubt, was the formation of a new organisation, the Social Democratic League, an organisation that allows its members to belong to any other old Party at the same time.

However, even the devil should receive his due, and it is well to say here that in this matter Jones has certainly rendered the movement a service; for by setting up a freak show he has attracted to himself a goodly collection of freaks, and has thus kept them from encumbering the revolutionary movement. At about the same time the Auburn Branch of the Party stated their intention of supporting the P.L.L. candidate in their locality, and as a consequence the Branch was declared bogus by the C.E.

The action of the Auburn Branch was perhaps only what might have been expected, for no educational work had been done in the district, for a considerable period and the members of the Branch (five at the time) were without that knowledge of fundamentals that is the basis of sound action at all times and therein lies a lesson for the future.

#### CENTRAL LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Arising out of a decision of the previous Conference the C.E. started a Literature Dept. at Headquarters. For this

purpose £10 was set aside from the General Fund, and Com. Ray Everitt was placed in charge. Starting with about £13 worth of stock, the Department has handled over £100 worth of books since its inception in April last, and has increased its stock to the value of a little over £40 at the end of the year. The enormous educational value of this side of the Party's work cannot fail to make itself felt in the near future, and it is certainly worthy of the support of all members and sympathisers.

#### AS TO UNITY.

During the year another attempt was made to bring about unity with the Socialist Labor Party. The proposals put forward by the Party delegates were that the name of the United Party be the S.L.P., and that its official organ be the "International Socialist." With the first proposition the S.L.P. were in agreement, but they would not accept the I.S. as the name of the paper. Thus a deadlock was set up.

In order to overcome this, the A.S.P. offered to unite as the S.L.P., and having accomplished that to let the whole of the membership of the united Party decide the name of the paper. This, however, was also not agreeable to the S.L.P., and we then accused them of having "failed to show a spirit of unity." To this the S.L.P. replied with a challenge to prove our statement.

This was, of course, accepted, and the debate eventuated, Com. E. E. Judd representing the S.L.P., and Com. A. S. Reardon the A.S.P. There is no need here to recount what was said by both sides in the debate as an account of the same was recently printed in the columns of the I.S., and is now issued in pamphlet form by the S.L.P.

Suffice it to say that the efforts of the Party again failed, and the position is still the same as it was prior to the opening of the negotiations. To those who do not let old Party associations blind them to modern facts, it must be apparent that the onus for the continued disunity does not lie with the A.S.P., and it would be well to state here that we are at all times willing to unite on principles, provided always that the S.L.P. is prepared to come down to such commonplace and mundane things.

#### COMRADE WEGNER.

One of the worst misfortunes that befell the Party during the year was the death of the Party Treasurer, Com. Wegner, on the 26th September. Our comrade was a man that had for many years fought valiantly for the well being of the Party, and his election to the position of Treasurer was sufficient evidence of the trust and esteem in which he was held by those who were acquainted with him. No one was better fitted for the office than he was. The Party mourns its loss.

#### NEW BRANCHES.

It is with great pleasure that we are able to put on record the fact that two new Branches of the Party have recently been formed, one at Ipswich, Queensland, in October, and the other at Corrimal, N.S.W., in November.

The Ipswich Branch is in an industrial and mining centre, and with a membership at the present time of approximately two dozen members bids fair to become a source of strength to the movement in the coming times.

The setting up of the branch at Corrimal is undoubtedly an achievement that

should have been attempted years ago. It will form an excellent base for organising the whole of the south coast mining district, and that is the ambition of the comrades in the branch. That once accomplished the Party need have no fears as to the future.

#### MEMBERS-AT-LARGE.

At the last Conference provision was made whereby sympathisers in districts where no Branch existed could join up with headquarters as members-at-large. This fact being made known through the columns of the I.S., brought in a large influx of members to the Party, which besides adding to our numerical strength, has with the increased finance thus brought along, enabled us to carry on a greater amount of propaganda from headquarters than heretofore.

#### THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST."

At the time of the split in Sydney it was thought that the publication of the I.S. would have to be suspended for the time being, as the work had for some time been done voluntarily, and some of the volunteers had then left the Party.

However, Com. Everitt stepped into the breach, and has for the last nine months brought the paper out regularly, and has all along maintained a good standard therein.

This has not been done without a big effort, the financial side of the business having been all along a continual source of fear and worry, and the whole of the movement is hereby appealed to to support the press to the utmost of their ability, both by increasing the sale of the I.S. and whenever possible by contributions to the Press Fund.

Well might we here place on record our appreciation of the generosity, of all the comrades who have supported the Press Fund so well in the past. We thank 'em and we "dip our lids."

#### THE ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

In the "anti" campaign just concluded, the Party, as previously, played a part. Headquarters accepted the invitation of the No-Conscription Council to affiliate, and all our speakers took the field. From every Branch activities were reported, and also the fact that were making it not merely anti-conscription but anti-militarism, and it is an assured fact that that attitude gained much ready acceptance. Also the opportunity was taken to cover much new ground, and the result cannot but be satisfactory, even though we have to wait awhile to reap the fruit of the seed that was sown.

#### THE OUTLOOK.

So much for the past, what of the future! To prophesy is at all times futile yet there are always certain general tendencies from which one can frequently get an inkling of what is to come.

Since the outbreak of the war stringent Prussianism has been the rule in regard to public speaking and the Press. However, there are not wanting signs that public opinion is slowly gathering force in opposition to this sort of thing, and opposition of such nature that it will not be allowed to pass unheeded. This cannot but fill us with elevation.

Also splendid achievements of our comrades in Russia must of necessity have its influence here as elsewhere. Of a truth, "the young and lucky, they will see much".

From every hand the indications are, that the workers are slowly awakening

#### THE ARM AND THE TORCH.

The Flambeau of Progress is lifted on high  
To shine as a beacon in Liberty's sky.  
'Tis the hand of the toiler that holdeth the light  
That shall vanquish the darkness of Tyranny's night.

O Labor, your limbs they are hardy and strong  
Then why do you suffer oppression so long?

Arise! for the ages are calling to you:  
"Ye are many! and lo! your oppressors are few."

Oh, list to me, downtrodden children of toil,  
Just one simple thing your oppressors will foil:

March straight to the polls in a phalanx of might,  
And vote 'neath the hand that upholdeth the light.

Then the slave, in his hut with rejoicing shall hear;  
And the king in his palace shall tremble with fear;

And the Kingdom of Error shall fall in a night  
'Neath a blow from the hand that upholdeth the Light.

Then plenty shall smile on the plains of the West,  
And the vales of the East shall be happy and blest;

And the North and the Southland their hands shall unite  
To roll back the darkness of Slavery's night.

Rich harvests shall wave in their billows of gold;  
And woman no more shall be purchased and sold;

And the land of our sires in reality be  
The home of the brave and the land of the free.

—George Vail Williams.

#### FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM.

Not heralded with thunder of dull drums,  
Or cannon booming round the echoing hills;  
Not armed with swords, but thoughts, our army comes;

Yet through its ranks a grander music thrills  
Than ever cheered the charge on fiery field,  
When man for man has offered up his life.

We know how long and strong may be the strife,  
But Right fights with us, and we dare not yield,

Else having seen the light and heard the song  
Of that most holy hill, the prophet's place,  
If we should falter 'gainst the present Wrong.

How could we look our brothers in the face!  
—HENRY W. AUSTIN.

to a realization of their position in society and the hope that the near future will bring a solid influx into the Party is based upon a very solid foundation. Also there are on hand at the present time enquiries from several localities for information as to the formation of new branches, all of which is to say the least, very encouraging.

In every respect the prospects for the immediate future are good. It is for us to make the most of the opportunity, and to this end it is essential above all things that first the I.S. be kept going and its circulation increased, and secondly, that the branches use every endeavour, by means of economic and speakers' classes to increase the number of our propagandists. The workers are beginning to see a way out. The reason they are not in the Party, is not that they are opposed to Socialism but that many of them do not understand it, for that reason, then we must put out as many propagandists as possible, but first we must train them. On then to the future.

"All the past we leave behind,  
We debouch upon a newer mightier world,  
Fresh and strong the world we seize,  
World of labor and the march,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!"

A. S. REARDON,  
General Secretary

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## The Censorship.

## SOME LIGHT.

A controversy, re the operation of the  
censor, between Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald  
and Senator Pearce, the Minister of De-  
fence, has been going on in the "Sun."  
The latter supplied some interesting in-  
formation.Senator Pearce challenged Mr. Fitz-  
gerald to produce evidence of one in-  
stance in which deletions had been made  
in war news from Great Britain. The  
"Sun" accepted this offered challenge,  
and gave the following:—On December 11, when the referen-  
dum campaign was in full swing, a cable  
message of 228 words, lodged in London  
at 2.45 p.m. on December 10, and ad-  
dressed to "The Sun" by Keith Murdoch,  
its London representative, described how  
the Australians in France were training  
and preparing. In this course of this  
message the following passages occurred:—

"Considerable sections have been  
expunged from the news of the races  
and horse-shows, some have motored to  
seaside resorts, the British supplying a  
fleet of transports for the purpose.  
The difficulty with football is that the  
New South Wales Brigade play Rugby,  
the Victorians play the Australian  
game, and composite brigades have  
mixed rules. Inter-brigade contests are  
impossible, but there is keen competi-  
tion and rivalry between battalions.  
Some teams claim international players,  
and their games attract great crowds,  
but soldiering is never allowed to sink  
into the background."

## Expunged by Censor.

None will dispute that this is war news,  
that it is war news of peculiar concern  
to every Australian, that it came from Lon-  
don, and that it was censored. The mes-  
sage was delivered at this office, and af-  
ter its receipt the censor's department  
directed that the sentence quoted should  
be expunged. They therefore had to be  
omitted from the cable story which was  
printed.

## Political Purpose.

Senator Pearce asked for only one in-  
stance. We have given it, and anybody  
who cares to read between the lines can  
see that it was not only censorship, but  
censorship of a particularly poisonous  
kind, because it was political censorship  
for party purposes. If Senator Pearce  
wishes for further instances he can have  
them, not singly, but in battalions.From another issue of the "Sun" we  
get:—

"It is idle to deny that the events of  
this week have not induced a creeping  
paralysis in the Nationalist Party. Very  
crudely, faith in the political integrity  
of two members of the Cabinet, the Min-  
ister of Defence, and the Prime Minister,  
has been rudely shaken. Senator Pearce's  
gross misrepresentation of the censorship,  
and the exposure of his mis-statements  
by "The Sun," followed by the repudia-  
tion of poisonous political censorship by

"Well," said the Victorian Socialist  
Party man, as he opened up his lunch,  
"you were going to tell me how the work-  
er is robbed. I still maintain that he is  
robbed as a consumer; if we had cheaper  
living we would be better off."

"That's why the 'Age,' always in  
favor of the working class, I don't think,  
advocates it, eh? It also explains why the  
'Australasian Manufacturer,' the mouth-  
piece of the manufacturers, advocates co-  
operative societies and consumes leagues.  
I suppose! Do they teach you what wages  
are based on, up at the V.S.P.?" asked  
the Industrialist.

"Yes, they are based on the cost of  
living."

"Then, if you had cheaper living, your  
wages would be lower? That is no doubt  
what the employers think!"

"Oh, no, we would live better," said  
the V.S.P. man.

"Then," said the Industrialist, "wages  
are based on the cost of living—living  
seeing that in Japan they live on  
rice, and only get a rice wage?"

"Well, yes, the cost of living is regu-  
lated by—er—climate, etc."

"You are not too clear," said the In-  
dustrialist, "what you mean to say is that  
wages are regulated by the cost of living  
according to historically acquired habits  
—that is a standard of living?"

"Yes, that is what I meant."

"There is nothing like clear defini-  
tions," said the Industrialist, "so before  
we go any further, I will tell you as  
clearly as I can, for the benefit of our  
fellow workers, what wages are. Wages  
are the price of labor power. Labor  
power is a commodity just the same as  
electric power, gas or coal. You gave me  
a good definition of value last time, but  
an even fuller and clearer definition of  
value is: that amount of socially neces-  
sary labor embodied in an article or ne-  
cessary for its reproduction."

"Well," said the V.S.P. man, "if  
wages are the price of labor power, and  
price coincides on an average with value  
—then when a worker sells his labor for  
its price—for wages, he gets its value.  
How, then, is he robbed by the boss? Or  
where he works—on the job?"

"Now, that's a sensible question, you  
are now willing to learn," answered the  
Industrialist, "so I will deal a little  
more fully with wages before I answer  
you as to how the worker is robbed on  
the job: 'The necessities of life are so  
to say the raw material for the reproduc-  
tion of labor power. The latter is a com-  
modity selling like any other, at its value  
or the cost of its reproduction. This cost  
depends on the price of those necessities  
of life which, as the result of history, cli-  
mate, etc., have become second nature to  
the workers, and are therefore considered  
indispensable by them. If the necessities  
of life advance, wages follow. Until  
wages have caught up with prices, the  
price of labor power is temporarily below  
its value, the same as it occasionally, un-  
der particularly favorable circumstances,  
rises above its value. Given, however, a  
condition in which wages have not ad-  
vanced as much as the prices of clothing,

the Censor, Sydney, has filled the Nation-  
alist party with apprehension, respecting  
the conduct of the censorship. The Min-  
ister of Defence said, 'I didn't,' the  
Censor in Sydney has said, 'I didn't,'  
and the politician, like the plain man in  
the street, is asking 'Who did?' And the  
moving finger having writ, moves on and  
appears to be pointing very directly at  
the Prime Minister."

It has been common knowledge for  
some time that the censorship has been  
used for political purposes, and now that  
some attempt is being made to right the  
wrong, a move is being made by those under  
whose direction the censor works to place  
the blame upon the latter.

The truth of the matter is, that Hughes  
and Co., recognised in the censorship an  
institution that could be used to suppress  
any matter that would go against them  
in their endeavours to retain office. The  
Censor himself had nothing to gain by

food, fuel and rent, then there has taken  
place a decline of the value of labor pow-  
er, or in other words, a lowering of the  
workers' standard of life."

"Well, that's plain enough—that our  
standard of living is being lowered, but  
if, as you say, we are not robbed as con-  
sumers, and we get paid in wages the  
value of labor power—then how are we  
robbed?" queried the V.S.P. man.

"I will tell you," answered the Indus-  
trialist.

"Three things are necessary to pro-  
duce, say, hats."

"1st. The raw material, provided by  
nature, say rabbit fur in this instance.  
The value of the raw material is the  
amount of socially necessary labor need-  
ed to catch the rabbits, cure the skins,  
and pull the fur, and transport it to the  
factory. Labor alone is the creator of  
value."

"2nd. The tools of production: factory  
machinery, etc."

## 3rd. Labor.

"Now suppose three hats selling at 6/-  
each can be produced in four hours. The  
hat manufacturer finds that it takes  
5/- worth of raw material,  
3/- for wear and tear on tools,  
10/- for labor."

18/- total.

"Thus the value in three hats is eight-  
een shillings. These hats sell at six shil-  
lings each. No robbery in the selling."

"But the factory does not work only  
four hours a day. It runs for eight  
hours."

"And, here is the vital point, although  
labor reproduces its own value in this  
instance in four hours. Labor is com-  
pelled to work eight hours because the  
tools of production are privately owned.  
If the boss owns the tool (the 'tool'  
may be a pick and shovel, an engine, a  
machine or a factory), which you use in  
order to get bread to eat, he owns you  
and your wife and children. In order to  
live you are compelled to bargain for  
what terms you can; to-day you have to  
work eight hours for a day's wages."

"This, then, is how it works out—"

"The boss provides enough raw materi-  
al for eight hours, and the figures are  
now:

|              |      |
|--------------|------|
| Raw material | 10/- |
| Tools        | 6/-  |
| Labor        | 10/- |
| Total        | 26/- |

"This produces six hats, selling at six  
shillings each, is 36/-."

"The difference between 26/-, the cost  
to the boss, and the 36/-, is surplus value."

"This is where the worker is robbed.  
The socially necessary labor embodied  
in six hats is eight hours, but the boss  
only paid for four hours."

"Labor has reproduced more than its  
value."

"Because the boss owns the tools and

interfering with political matter."

The pathetic part of the business is that  
those who are beginning to cry about the  
Censorship are those who give the Min-  
ister for Defence unlimited power by vot-  
ing for the War Precautions Act, that is,  
Mr. Tudor and his following.

The Censorship has been used, and is  
still being used for political purposes,  
still being used insofar as there are  
books and pamphlets on the censored  
list, written long before the outbreak of  
the war. These books support political  
ideas that are antagonistic to both Hughes  
and Tudor, and whilst Tudor was in of-  
fice, the work of indexing was common.

On reviewing the attitude of the Labor  
Party towards the Censorship, we are  
quite justified in coming to the conclu-  
sion that underlying their hot air about  
the censor, is the regret on their part,  
that the other fellow has control of it.

RAY EVERITT.

## Politicians be Dammed.

The politicians be damned! What will we  
get by depending on them? They are the  
most expensive and self-interested pack of  
scoundrels we have to deal with.

What, for instance, is the individual labor  
member's position in the house today?

He goes there, roaring like a lion, and with  
all kinds of honest bombast, about the  
"emancipation of the working class" but so  
far as his usefulness to the working class is  
concerned, it dies immediately he enters Par-  
liament. The environment is too comfort-  
able; the seats are too soft; the work easy,  
and the pay high. He rides and is entertain-  
ed free of charge. Ah, it dawns upon him  
quickly that the life of a politician is a very  
congenial one, and he decides that at all haz-  
ards he will remain in it. His blood begins  
to cool and his spirit becomes calmer.

The comfortable surroundings have crept  
into his principles and he thinks no longer  
of how the working class are to be emanci-  
pated, but rather of himself and the best meth-  
ods of retaining his job.

From that time on he is lost to the Labor  
movement. His mind now begins to be occu-  
pied by watching his own electorate, not for  
the benefit of that electorate, you must know,  
but for his own individual benefit. He begins  
to watch his constituency closely, and direct-  
ly he discovers a likely rival in it, he is on  
his guard at once and begins fighting spite-  
fully against any invasion on his territory.  
By this time his whole attitude is this: "I'm  
here, and by Christ I want to stay here!" And  
so the individual fight takes place; all intui-  
tive within him for the benefit of his class,  
obliterated; the goal which is, or was, the  
emancipation of the working class, is out of  
sight or altogether, and nothing remains in his  
mind but to job.

Not so? We cannot see much of the  
politicians at all, not in the house.  
The job has become too comfortable, and  
as long as it remains so it will spoil all the  
good men who come in contact with it.

—THE STUDENT.

machines of production is compels you  
to continue working several hours after  
you have produced the equivalent value  
of your wages, and thus robs you of the  
whole product of your labor during those  
extra hours.

"Value is the product of labor."

"While the tools and machines of pro-  
duction are privately owned, the workers  
cannot be free."

"You can now see the foolishness in  
wasting your time over Labor Party pa-  
liatives—in trying to reduce the cost of  
living, etc."

"The only hope for the working class  
is to organize. The capitalists can not  
produce, the workers can, they do it now  
for the employing class and its hangings.  
Properly trained and intelligent, or-  
ganized the workers can manage to run  
industrial production for themselves, for  
the co-operative commonwealth. But in  
the meantime, the conditions of work, the  
hours of labor, and the wages can be bet-  
tered more effectively through the Social-  
ist Industrial Union, the Workers Inter-  
national Industrial Union, than by any  
other agency. Jointly with the growing  
political party, and through it and the  
economic organization, the oppressive  
measure of the political government can  
be reduced, and constructive features can  
be enhanced. In fact, we can fight our  
way to victory by the growing strength  
and self-reliance of an awakened working  
class."

"While the capitalist rule still pre-  
vails we must fight every chance we get  
for fewer hours and higher wages and so  
marshal and recruit the numbers neces-  
sary for the final taking and holding of  
industry for the industrial workers."

"Now, workers, speed the day when  
the workers' industrial republic will be a  
fact, when political government shall be  
relegated to the past, by joining the union  
of your industry, and the party of your  
class. Organise your industry, the  
recruiting union, or join as a member at  
large, do your part now, and all else will  
follow in due time."

—THE STUDENT.

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## Economics the Basis of Society.

### III.—The State.

By J.M.G.

That wealth, in all phases of society, is power to the possessors, is clearly shown right through the civilisation period. And this power has always expressed itself in political sovereignty, that is, control of the State. The class that holds the means of production controls the political machinery. Such is the history of the past.

During the Greek and Roman periods, the political sovereignty was vested in the slave owning class. In the middle ages the feudal barons held the reins of power, with the mass of the people as their serfs. And under the present capitalist regime the owners of the tools of production in all industrial countries are politically supreme—a supremacy that is not lessened by the political freedom granted in many countries to the masses, for this "freedom" is a factor in binding them to their economic slavery.

The State as an organisation of government dates from the breaking up of the primitive tribal communities founded on the gens. The breaking up of this form of society, based on kinship, with the social equality of its members and cooperative system of its economic production, gave place to a form of society based on private ownership, necessitating the formation of restrictions to ensure the owners in possession, and thus give rise to the State and all the political machinery. To enforce the will of what has always been a minority upon a majority, giving rise to all those antagonisms and conflicts that is the history of the civilisation period.

These conflicts for control of the State were and are not confined to a struggle between the possessing and non-possessing classes, but have led to struggles between sections of the possessing class, of which we have an object lesson in South Africa to-day in the struggle between the farming interests and industrial interests for control of the political machinery to determine what section shall bear the burden of taxation. In this struggle the masses, the dispossessed wage slaves, are taking sides, owing to their mental kinks, and the dope administered by political henchmen and a servile press.

That the economic is the basis of State control, even under our modern "democratic" form of society, is clearly demonstrable to any person with an unbiased mind. The catchwords of the French revolution, "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality," were treated as jangling words having no meaning to the middle class. It soon adorned their prison gates. On gaining political power they took care to exclude the workers from any participation in the Government. In Germany the workers have no control over the political machinery, it being invested in the possessing class. Even in Britain with their boasted liberty, manhood suffrage does not exist, and until very recently the vote was restricted to property owners.

That the granting of political freedom to the mass of the workers, has caused no weakening of the power of the possessing class is very evident. It has had the opposite effect: it has assured the dominant class in their economic power by largely diverting the workers' attention from the economic field to following political will-o'-the-wisps, to their undoing.

In the historical States the rights of the possessing class were legally fixed, giving them their status in society according to their wealth. Laws were necessary to regulate their social relations, designed to give stability, as is evidenced by the many struggles for political power that disrupted these States. In these struggles the masses, in ignorance of their subject status in society, took sides. Yet the possessing class have always united to enforce the power of the State upon the masses to keep them under subjection.

Under the more recent development of Government, the political power of wealth is obscured, intentionally. The political recognition of the power of wealth is driven below the political surface, controlling the State by underhand methods. By political nominees, corrupt officials, and the varied back door influences, wire-pulling manipulation by the big capitalist financiers and banking interests does

## Craft Unionism.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Speech Delivered at Chicago, November 23, 1905; Revised by the Author and Re-issued October, 1909.

The "Industrial Workers of the World" mentioned, has since changed its name to the "Workers' International Industrial Union."

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE).

The old unions were built up on tools that have been discarded and upon trades that have ceased to exist.

Half a century ago the trade union was right; it was adapted to the then existing industrial conditions. For illustration, a cooper shop was a cooper shop. It contained coopers and coopers only, and the Cooper's Union was organized. That embraced the coopers who were employed at their trade in the shop. Since then there has been half a century of industrial evolution. Compare the great coöperation establishments of to-day with the cooper-shop of fifty years ago, in which the old hand tools were used, in which the apprentice learned his trade, and having mastered this, could seize the small tools with which work was done and virtually employ himself. There has been a marvellous change since that time. A modern coöperation establishment is the result of industrial evolution; and if you will visit one of them you will find that scores of different kinds of labor are performed there. Indeed, you will find almost any kind of worker there except a cooper!

Now, we hold that the form of the union must correspond to the mode of industry. In other words, the union, like the trade, is subject to the inexorable laws of evolution. We want a union to-day that expresses all the various subdivisions of labor that are now engaged in a coöperation establishment. Suppose

### ORGANISATION.

Twenty-seven years ago an industrial upheaval shook this country. The workers were driven back in defeat; twenty-seven years after, in a bigger upheaval, we were again defeated and driven back on our bellies. Why? Because, after the ninety strike, instead of trying to perfect our machinery in organizing industrially, we went along the same old conservative craft union lines, dividing the workers instead of bringing them close together into an industrial union. The crying need for industrial unionism to-day is greater than ever. Unless we, the workers, wake up and organize our emancipation is as far off as ever; so fellow-workers it is up to you to secure Socialist literature and understand the class struggle; at your Union meetings endeavor to show your fellow-workers the need for One Big Union of the working class; for until you are organized on the industrial field, as well as the political field, can we hope to gain our emancipation.

ED. A. JOHNSON.

capital control the State. And the control is easy to maintain owing to the huge debts contracted by the modern State, and their obligations to these financiers.

It is thus easily seen that the control of the economic forces in all phases of society gives the possessors control of the State, enabling them to manipulate the material forces, and create an environment that keeps the masses in subjection of the possessing class. Even with universal suffrage the masses will not free themselves until they get their mental vision cleared of the fiction of being free men, when in reality they are wage slaves held in subjection by an economic form of production that denies to the many the life that is the birthright of every human being.

The State did not exist from all time; but only since the breaking up of the Tribal Communities. It has had many forms during the civilisation period, changing with the economic development.

The economic development of to-day leading as it must to control of these forces by and for the good of the community as a whole, and not a section, will obliterate the State, with all its political machinery, repressive laws, and class morality. It will be replaced by the administration of the productive forces by and for the community.

—"The International," South Africa.

there are 500 such employees in a plant. We organize them all, and they are assigned to their various departments; and if one of them has a grievance it becomes the concern of every worker in that establishment. How is it now? Certain departments are organized in craft unions, meet with the officials and make an agreement or contract. They do not care what becomes of the rest, if only they can get what they are after for themselves. After they are thus tied up, the employees in some other department present a grievance and are turned down and out. They go out on strike. Those tied fast in an agreement say: "We would like to help you, we are in sympathy with you, but you see we have an agreement, and that agreement is sacred; it must be preserved inviolate; and while we are in sympathy with you, and while we hate to see you defeated and lose your jobs, we cannot go back on our agreement." And in this way one union is used to crush another, labor is defeated and scabs are made by thousands.

It is a fact that nearly all scabs and strike-breakers are ex-unionists. Go among them and interrogate them and you will find that they will tell you in almost every case that at heart they are in favor of union labor, but that they were beaten by it and found this the only way of getting even. I know of hundreds of instances, of my own knowledge, of men who have been made scabs in precisely this way. Now, the trade unions feel very bitter toward scabs, and pursue them relentlessly until the unfortunates seek escape in suicide. And yet, while they so bitterly oppose the scab, they support the union that makes the scab.

What we want to-day, above all things, is united economic and political action, and we can never have that while the working class are parcelled out among hundreds, aye, thousands, of separate unions, that keep them divided for reasons many of which readily suggest themselves.

Who is it that is so violently opposed to the Industrial Workers? It is not the rank and file of the trade unions. It is their officers. And why are they so fiercely opposed to the Industrial Workers? For the reason that when the working class are really united a great many labor leaders will be out of jobs.

There are at present thousands of unions. Some of them have a few members and others have a great many; and every time, in the evolution of industry, there is a new subdivision of labor, however minute, a new union must be launched, clear down to the Grand International Brotherhood of Peanut Peelers, Polishers and Packers, or whatever it may be. And they elect a staff of their own grand international officers, and their names are put upon the payroll; and let me say to you that their interests are primarily in keeping themselves there.

Why should the railroad employees be parcelled out among a score of different organisations? They are all employed in the same service. Their interests are mutual. They ought to be able to act together as one. But they divide according to craft, and calling, and if you were to propose to-day to unite them that they might actually do something to advance their collective and individual interests as workers, you would be opposed by every grand officer of these organisations. The payroll and expense account of the officers of the railroad brotherhoods alone amount to more than a quarter of a million dollars a year.

There is an army of men who serve as officers who are on the salary list get a good living keeping the working class divided. They start out with good intentions, as a rule. They really want to do something to serve their fellows. They leave the shops or the mines as honest workmen. They are elected officers of a labor organisation and they change their clothes. They now wear a white shirt and a standing collar. They change their habits and their methods. They have been used to shabby clothes, coarse fare and to associating with their fellow-workers. After they have been elevated to official position, as if by magic they are recognised by those who previously scorned them and held them in contempt. They find that some of the doors that were previously barred against them now swing inward, and they can actually put their feet under the mahogany of a capitalist.

Our common workingman is now a labor leader. The great capitalist pats him on the back and tells him that he knew long ago that he was the coming man, that it was a fortunate thing for the workers of the world that he had

been born, that in fact they had been long waiting for just such a wise and conservative leader. And this has a certain effect upon our new-made leader, and unconsciously, perhaps, he begins to change—just as John Mitchell did, when Mark Hanna patted him on the shoulder and said, "John, it is a good thing you are at the head of the miners. You are the very man. You have the greatest opportunity a labor leader ever had on this earth. You can immortalise yourself. Now is your time." Then John Mitchell admitted that this capitalist, who had been pictured to him as a monster, was not half as bad as he had thought he was; that, in fact, he was a genial and companionable gentleman. He repeats his visit the next day, or the next week, and is introduced to some other distinguished person he had read about, but never dreamed of meeting, and thus goes on the transformation. All his dislike disappears and all feeling of antagonism vanishes. He concludes that they are really most excellent people and, now that he has seen and knows them, he agrees with them that there is no necessary conflict between workers and capitalists. And he proceeds to carry out this pet capitalist theory and he can only do it by betraying the class that trusted him and lifted him as high above themselves as they could reach.

It is true that such a leader is in favor with the capitalists; that their newspapers write editorials about him and crown him a great and wise leader; and that ministers of the gospel make his name the text for their sermons, and emphasize the vital point that if all labor leaders were such as he, there would be no objection to labor organizations. And the leader feels himself flattered. And when he is charged with having deserted the class he was supposed to serve, he cries that inditement is brought by a discredited labor leader. And that is probably true. The person who brings the charge is very likely discredited. But by whom? By the capitalist class of course; and its press and pulpit and "public" opinion. And in the present state of the working class, when he is discredited by the capitalists, he is at once repudiated by their wage-slaves.

The labor leader who is not discredited by the capitalist class is not true to the working class. If he be unswerving loyal to the working class he will not be on friendly terms with the capitalist class. He cannot serve both. When he really serves one he serves that one against the other.

The labor leader who is in high favor with the exploiters is pronounced safe, conservative, wise and honest, and the workers are appealed to, to look to him for advice, for guidance and leadership. The unthinking accept the advice with enthusiasm. And so the labor leader who serves the capitalist class instead of the working class is hailed deliverer and basks in the public favour.

But let me say to you that in spite of all this, the honest and discredited leaders will be lovingly remembered long after the popular ones of to-day are forgotten.

Now, in these matters, I am not asking you to take my advice. I am not asking you to follow me. I simply want you to think over these things for yourselves. The very first need is that you open your eyes and see for yourselves. Take nothing for granted.

So many of you are satisfied to blindly follow where others lead; and so you are deceived and betrayed; you have to pay all the penalties.

It is high time you were ceasing to depend upon some one to "lead" you; that you were opening your eyes; that you were doing your own thinking. And that is all I am asking you to do.

I have already told you that I have had some experience and that I hope I have in some measure profited by it. I have been involved in strikes enough to satisfy me. I have so often been saddened by the outcome of such strikes.

I have seen men by scores and hundreds and thousands, after striking for weeks and months, lose their jobs. I have seen the poor wretches blacklisted and I have seen them persecuted until they were in rags, and their families were upon the streets, and I have said there must be another and better way. I have seen enough to satisfy me. There is a better way. But you will never find it by pursuing the old lines. You have got to unite the whole working class, and this can be done. It is not an impossible task. Every worker, however limited his mentality, ought to be able to see that there is little or nothing to be accomplished along the old lines; that, in fact, there is no hope; that you are engaged in an unequal struggle, and that the ultimate outcome is certain to be defeat, despair and

(To be continued).



A. S. P.

## NEWS AND NOTES.

## IPSWICH BRANCH.

We held our first branch meeting of the year on January 9th, and had a very encouraging turn out of members. More than half of the membership were present, which goes to show the interest manifested. It was left in the hands of the secretary to once more approach the powers that be to get permits for outdoor propaganda, also a hall for Sunday night lectures. The meeting decided to appoint proxy delegates to represent branch on executive.—Yours in the cause,  
P. STALKER, Sec.

## MELBOURNE BRANCH.

Activities have been resumed after the holidays. It is hoped that members will each do their bit during the year, and our speakers get attentive hearing at all outside meetings.

During the conscription campaign this branch's speakers did splendid propaganda work at numerous open air meetings, where sometimes they found themselves on the same platform with others, who although fully alive to the dangers of conscription, did not know the causes that make conscription necessary under the present system of society. Our speakers with their knowledge of social evolution from communism to capitalism were able to tell their audiences why capitalism in all countries must be backed up by militarism.

In a lecture on "Karl Marx and the Single Tax," a visiting speaker (Mr. Brady) at the hall last Sunday, 13th inst., declared that Henry George and Karl Marx had many theories in common, and "meant the same things under different names." He proceeded to prove this somewhat startling statement, by reading many passages from Marx's "Capital," the third volume in particular which, as students know, was published by Engel from Marx's Notes and M.S.S. after the death of Marx.

"Without private monopoly of land, exploitation of labourers would not be possible," "Marx," said the lecturer, "regarded land monopoly as the basis of the capitalist mode of production," and the speaker claimed that Marxians should make land monopoly the first plank in their platform; also that Marxians should federate with Single Taxers on this one principle.

The discussion following was brisk, this branch's advanced students taking part in it. As one of them said, in opposition to the lecturer:

"Henry George took all things as fixed. Marx studied historical conditions, and pointed out the changing conditions of society."

Marx used the dialectic method of reasoning—that everything within itself is subject to evolution, or birth, fruition, and decay. The Single Taxer regards land as "eternal," and is an industrialist.

Karl Marx was essentially a scientist, as well as a political economist; and knew that the dialectic method applies to all systems of society, as to physical worlds. Single taxers, if they understood the dialectic method, would cease accusing Socialists of being "inconsistent" in many of their principles.

J.M., Press Cor.

## SYDNEY BRANCH.

The Branch is endeavoring manfully to push on its activities, in spite of the set back it received with the stoppage of street meetings. A meeting was held in the Domain on Sunday, 20th January, the speakers being Comrades Mrs. Reardon (chair), A. S. Reardon, P. Hancock. Comrades Miss Cogan, A. Hildus, P. Drew, Mrs. Reardon, W. Gray, acted as paper sellers.

In the evening at the Hall, Comrade Spencer Wood, who is on a visit to Sydney from Melbourne, lectured on "War And The Workers." The speaker dealt with wars in general and the present one in particular, and their effects on the workers.

He pointed out that war is essentially a

capitalist institution, and that it is waged for their benefit alone; that such was its dire and dreadful effect on the workers and the conditions, that anyone who shouldered a gun or donned a uniform in its cause, was a scab upon his class.

He emphasised the fact of the lies of the press, pointing out that in many cases, their glaring headlines being in most cases the result of pure imagination, and quoted the Melbourne "Age" in particular, as the most jingoistic paper and having the largest circulation, having for its editor a man who rejoiced in the real English name of Herman Von Schueler. He incidentally remarked whether or not the war had produced many heroes or cowards; it certainly had produced a plentiful crop of liars.

The lecturer went on to speak of the different reasons that had been put forward as the cause of war, alleging that it was first the "rights of small nations," then Prussian militarism, and lastly, people were beginning to say boldly that it was a commercial war.

He easily proved the absurdity of the first statement, quoting as an example the action of Belgium with regard to the Congolese. As to the second, he drew a comparison between the different forms of militarism, stating that in a nutshell the French was the most democratic, the German the most scientific, and the Australian the most cowardly.

Comrade Wood emphatically stated that as regards the Australian and German forms of conscription, the German was by far the least of two evils; and that if we succeeded in crushing German militarism, it would be destroying a more manly system than our own. He went on to say that in his opinion peace was in sight, but nevertheless, the capitalists were afraid to stop the war. Like Frankenstein, they had created a monster to destroy them.

He concluded by stating that a lasting peace would never be achieved until capitalism was destroyed, and with a picture of a battlefield, which I cannot attempt to quote, but which the lecturer may be induced to write for us some day. He finished his address with an admonition to the workers to allow themselves to be branded as cowards, but to avoid at all costs having hero placed on their tombstones.

Before the lecture Miss Cogan again entertained us with a recitation, entitled, the "Carver and the Caliph."

MARCIA REARDON,  
Secretary.

## A SONG OF REBELS.

They have tied the world in a tether,  
They have bought over God with a fee;  
While three men hold together,  
The kingdoms are less by three.

We have done with the kisses that sting,  
The thief's mouth red from the feast,  
The blood on the hands of the king,  
And the lie at the lips of the priest.

Will they tie the wind in a tether  
Put a bit in the jaws of the sea?  
While three men hold together,  
The kingdoms are less by three.

Let our flag run out straight in the wind,  
The old red shall be floated again,  
When the ranks that are thin shall be thinned,  
When the names that are twenty are ten.

While the shepherd set wolves on his sheep,  
And the Emperor halts his line,  
While Shame is a watchman asleep,  
And faith is a keeper of swine.

Let the winds shake our flag like a feather,  
Like the plumes of the foam of the sea!  
While three men hold together,  
The kingdoms are less by three.

SWINBURNE.

## SONG OF THE WORKERS

O shapers of iron and stone,  
O workers of metal and wood,  
The world is built out of your bone,  
Cemented and bricked with your blood.  
O toilers and tillers of earth,  
Creators and makers of wealth,  
Your labour, though ceaseless, is worth  
What barely suffices for health.  
O weavers of warp and of weft,  
O plyers of needle and thread,  
You clothe all the rich, and are left  
Half naked, half nurtured, half fed.  
The miners deep down in the mine,  
The sailors on tempest-swept sea,  
The brutal shall touch the divine,  
The shackled and fettered be free,  
The false shall give way to the true,  
When users of hammer and plane  
And craftsmen of sinew and thew  
As deftly make use of their brain.

—Ernest Jones.

## The Australian Socialist Party.

## PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

## Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

## Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

## Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

## As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the emprise in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.U.

## As to Historical Materialism.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system, thus forcing the A.S.P. to attack them.

## As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

## HUGHES AS "FATHER GOOSE."

One of the many blunders committed by Hughes over the Referendum was the launching of a great national campaign on the line of a pantomime or vaudeville show. Percy Hunter did excellently as the publicity-pioneer of Jack Johnson, the champion pugilist, and other of Hugh McIntosh's attractions. And Claude McCay did equally good service for "Mother Goose," and various J. C. Williamson productions. But the exaggerated methods suitable for the booming of high salaried stars like Jack Johnson, Nellie Melba and Harry Lauder, whose managers keep an anxious and primary eye on the gate money, are quite inappropriate for a serious public campaign. In the case of the Prime Minister's stage presentation in the Conscription Extravaganza, these theatrical tricks only succeeded in landing him in the unwelcome and grotesque role of "Father Goose."

## TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

## BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

## CORRIMAL BRANCH.

B. Lewis, Main Street, Corrimal, Secretary.

## IPSWICH BRANCH.

P. Stalker, Short's Landing Hotel, Brisbane Street, Ipswich, Secretary.

## MELBOURNE BRANCH.

17 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.  
Lectures held every Sunday Evening.  
Economic Class every Wednesday night.  
Visitors welcomed.

## MT. LARCOM

Secretary, Chas. Jacobson, Mt. Larcom, Mt. Gladston.

## NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall, Hatto's Arcade, King St., Newtown.  
Library for Members.  
Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

## SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.  
Library for members.  
Lecture every Sunday evening.  
Debating class held every Monday evening.  
Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.  
Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY  
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.  
Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.  
Capital—Karl Marx; 3 vols., 8/- each; posted, 8/6.  
Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—H. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.  
Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagarty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.  
Economics of Socialism—H. M. Hyndman; cloth, 3/6; posted, 3/9.  
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Landmarks of Scientific Socialism—Engels; cloth, 4/-.  
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Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.  
New Socialism. The R. R. Ja-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

## IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

Printed and Published by William Joseph Thomas, at 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.